SOVIET PLAN FOR SCIENCE

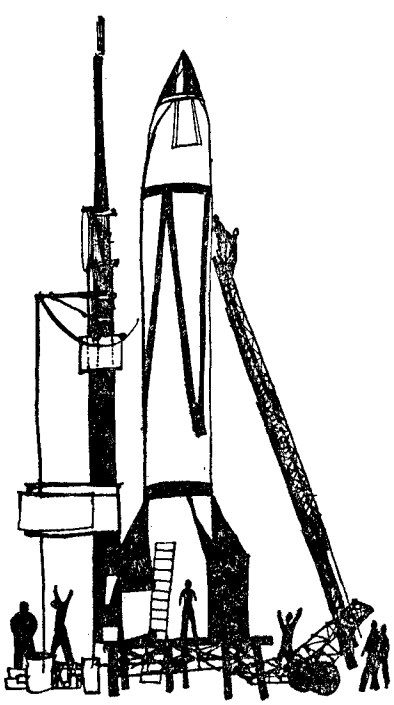
—J. Paar-Cabrera

THE

Commonweal

The American Laity

by Bishop Robert J. Dwyer



Science and Security

by James Bernard Kelley

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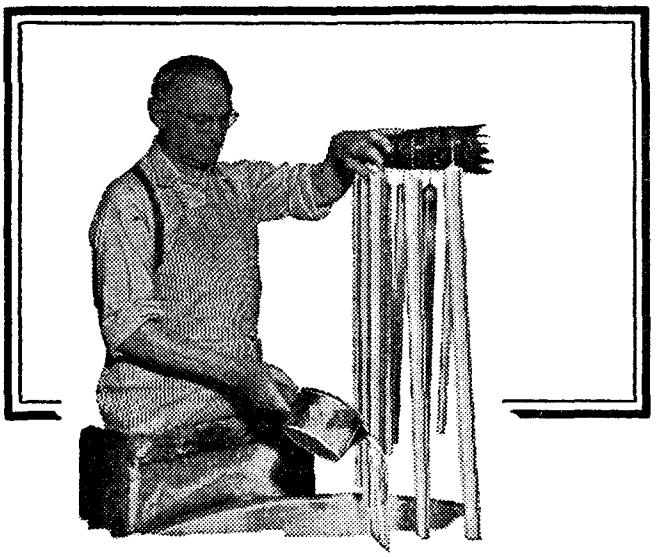

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THE Commonweal

week by week

THE UN AS A FORUM

MAN'S hopes of an international organization that would protect him from aggression, and prevent future wars, have had three severe jolts in the past three decades. First there was America's failure to ratify the Covenant of the League of Nations, although Woodrow Wilson himself had been its leading instigator. Then, years later, the League proved itself incapable of preventing the invasion and subjection of Ethiopia by the legions of Mussolini. After that the whole edifice of collective security, which had been painstakingly built up at Geneva without the United States, began to crumble; the further aggressions that led to World War II encountered little in the way of organized joint resistance.

With the United Nations Organization disillusionment likewise set in early. From its very first sessions it was painfully apparent that the Soviet Union regarded the UN only as a political weapon —by deliberate tactics of endless obstruction in debate and through liberal use of the veto, the USSR kept the UN almost wholly ineffectual as a means of thwarting Russia's sizable postwar conquests. In the minds of many Americans, the UN was written off in the first months of its existence as an effective guarantor of political liberty and of peace. Even its later intervention in the defense of Korea seemed to be something of a fluke, with the Security Council's being able to take action only because the Soviet delegates were then absenting themselves in high dudgeon because of a dispute.

Because of the consistently uncooperative attitude of the USSR and its satellites, hopes for the UN have continued to be very limited indeed as far as meeting any major international crisis goes. At the same time the organization has continued to be generally popular in other lands and also in the United States. But over here, at least, it is hardly considered a decisive factor in the struggle between the Soviet and free worlds.

When at a recent press conference President Eisenhower warmly defended the UN and America's part in it, he referred to the organization in the terms in which it is no doubt most widely regarded throughout the United States. He commended it as a "forum." He focused attention on the UN as a channel for diplomatic interchange and presumably implied, in addition, that the public would witness the debate.

The UN does indeed serve all the purposes of a forum, which as far as world public opinion goes is to our decided advantage. But the UN amounts to considerably more than that.

APOLOGISTS for the League of Nations in the interval between the wars used to emphasize what the organization was accomplishing in non-political matters — in public health, international standards, freer trade, raising labor and living standards and the like. All this is true to a much greater extent of the United Nations. It is necessary to cite as evidence only such UN subsidiaries as the Food and Agriculture Organization, Human Rights Commission, International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, International Children's Emergency Fund, the continuing International Labor Organization, UNESCO itself, World Health Organization, the Trusteeship Council etc.

From this partial list it can be readily seen that the UN functions in many other ways than as an arena for public debate. In fact, in many instances where the Soviet Union or its satellites are not directly concerned, the UN actually serves as a means of adjudication of important political matters.

Moreover, the debates between the Soviet and the anti-Communist delegates not only tend to enlighten world opinion in general, but they often force the non-allied peoples to take sides. Time and again at the UN even the "neutralists" nations have found themselves in our corner.

From any conceivable angle it is to the interest of our country to build up the United Nations— as a harbinger of greater peace and plenty and strength throughout the world, as an effective instrument of international cooperation in many fields,

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as a source of staunch allies and as a bastion against Communism itself. It certainly amounts to considerably more than a forum.

There are various ways of strengthening the UN available to the American people—things we can do without laboring under the misapprehension that here is an organization that can solve all our big problems for us. One is to spread understanding of, and interest in, the UN and its manifold activities for the common good. Another is to insist on adequate and prompt American appropriations. Probably more effective than anything else is to see to it that our government does things under UN auspices whenever possible, for in bypassing the organization's widespread technical, economic and political facilities the United States is clipping its wings. And going it alone understandably tends to arouse distrust of the comparative disinterestedness of American motives.

ONE CALCULATED RISK

THERE was a time when American pronouncements stressed the distinction between dictatorships and their subservient peoples. This note is seldom sounded any more. It is probably not so much that we have any more enmity for the citizens of totalitarian states as that we realize how slim are the possibilities of revolt against the perfected over-all control of latterday Communist regimes.

American food surpluses, then, can hardly be used to foment internal revolts behind the Iron Curtain. They can, however, save innumerable human lives, lessen international tensions and supply evidence among the nations that Americans are still genuinely interested in their fellow-men's well-being.

In offering aid for the victims of the Danube floods—in East Germany and Hungary, as well as in Austria and West Germany—the Administration has done well. Undoubtedly such aid has its unwelcome by-products. It releases food for other purposes, helps production and lightens the difficulties of unfriendly governments. Yet on balance such intervention is hardly on a scale to be decisive and seems well worth doing.

Is a similar principle applicable to Communist China, now ravaged by the worst floods in that land's entire tragic history? We believe it is, with the further hope that such timely assistance, if accepted, would not be forgotten at some future moment when the Chinese may be reviewing their relationship with Russia.

NEXT WEEK

FRANK GIBNEY writes about the recent testimonial banquet held in New York in honor of Roy M. Cohn:

"The meeting was crowded and successful, as its sponsors claimed, and there were hopeful people still trying to buy tickets outside when I arrived. Rabbi Schultz may have been gilding the lily just a bit when he spoke of the six thousand people who were turned away far in advance—we had no trouble ordering a table just a few days before the shouting started—but he was substantially correct. The diners looked a fairly prosperous lot, and they were as well-behaved as righteous people should be. In return for their patience, in fact, they got a corking good show. The Joint Committee Against Communism in New York may have whipped up the rally in a hurry, but they showed a smoothness of organization they ordinarily attribute to their enemies. . . ."

THE LEGION AND THE GIRL SCOUTS

SOMETIMES, against all our better judgment, we incline toward the school of thought that sees a villain behind every untoward event of history. Our latest temptation in this direction was occasioned by the charges of the Illinois Department of the American Legion against the Girl Scouts.

The Legion condemned the Girl Scouts because, among other things, it was said that the 1953 Girl Scout handbook gave the UN and world citizenship precedence over American citizenship. A big factor in these charges seems to have been the removal by the Girl Scouts of an illustration of the Bill of Rights. This, the Girl Scouts explained, was taken out only because it was thought to be illegible, and their subsequent announcement that the illustration will be restored has apparently eliminated the danger of total war. For the moment, at least, an uneasy truce seems to prevail in Illinois.

For our part, we have our doubts about the whole business. Every organization should have a certain amount of leeway for excessive zeal among its members, but in Illinois the Legion seems to be overdoing it. We cannot kill the suspicion that some envious member of the Veterans of Foreign Wars or the Amvets or even of the American Veterans Committee managed to infiltrate the Legion ranks with the sole idea of making the organization look ridiculous. If this is the way it all happened, we must give the Fifth Columnist his due: the maneuver was extraordinarily successful in doing just that.

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LIFE IN THE CITY

IF it is any comfort to him, the American who struggles with life in a big city can now be assured that the problems he faces are world-wide. According to a recent UN report, the popularity of cities and inadequate planning have combined to make them "almost unbelievably overcrowded" all over the world. In Bombay, tenements average more than seven persons to a room; in Panama, as many as twenty persons occupy a single room, sleeping in relays; in Singapore and Hong Kong, thousands of families live in squatters' huts or on the sidewalks.

All these facts and many more are contained in a new UN study, "Urban Land Problems and Policies," a comprehensive survey of world conditions to which housing experts from eleven nations have devoted three years of work. The well known American housing expert, Charles Abrams, served as guest editor for the study.

According to Mr. Abrams, there is no shortage of land for cities, if only they were properly planned. The entire population of the earth, something over two billion people, could be housed on 143,000 square miles—an area about the size of New York, Pennsylvania and New England. This would mean a population density of only twenty-five persons to an acre, considerably less crowded than Manhattan, where density runs to one hundred and thirty-six persons an acre.

Tied in with the problems of crowding, of course, are those of slums, the cost of housing and the social ills arising from the housing shortage. In this connection, the UN study called particular attention to the widening gap between what lower income groups can actually afford to pay and what is required for rent. Nowhere has the housing industry met the needs of poor families without public subsidies.

An important factor in this failure to provide decent non-subsidized housing for poorer families may be found in the nature of home construction itself, which remains essentially a handicraft operation in a mass-production era. "It has been estimated," Mr. Abrams said, "that if an American automobile costing $1,714 were built in 1949 using 1910 tools—as houses in the United States are being built today—its cost would be $60,000."

The UN study has, of course, no simple, overnight solution to the world-wide problems of overcrowded cities and bad housing. If anything is to be accomplished, in the U.S. or elsewhere, it is clear that planning is essential. Even more necessary is the will to do something about the situation in the first place. So far that seems to be lacking.

MENDES-FRANCE AND OTTO JOHN

THE European Defense Community plan, lashed for two years by the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune, has now received two climactic wounds, one inflicted by Dr. Otto John, the other by Pierre Mendes-France.

Dr. John, former head of the West German intelligence service, defected to the East German Communist government. He appeared at first to have been a kidnap victim, and the American and Bonn governments planted a hasty series of stories in the press that it had indeed been kidnapping. But the Communists inconveniently produced John at a press conference in East Berlin where he met with four hundred reporters; afterwards he had a private talk with some acquaintances among the Western correspondents in which he was given repeated conversational opportunities to hint that he might be acting against his own will. He succeeded in convincing these reporters that he was free of duress. He charged that Germany under Adenauer was becoming Nazi once again; that German rearmament was part of a U. S.-directed aggressive crusade against Communism; that the EDC treaty contained secret protocols; and that German militarists wanted to recapture Western Europe and would do so if the American-supported Adenauer policy were followed.

These charges obviously were strong propaganda, for Dr. John had been an informed and important West German official, and had been an active anti-Nazi during the second world war, working with British intelligence.

The reliability of the charges in the public mind was weakened somewhat by the reputation John had for emotional instability; his reliability had been in sufficient question for the Americans to have withheld information from him and to have placed him under Army Counter-Intelligence Corps surveillance.

The Western nations deny the existence of any secret EDC protocols, deny any intention of a military crusade against the East, and deny that Nazi influence is substantial in the Adenauer government. These denials are consistent with the facts of recent history and the reports of the press. John's charges, on the other hand, specifically parallel the most important current arguments of Soviet propaganda.

But the psychological effect of John's defection has been deep in Germany and Europe. Confidence in the Adenauer government is severely shaken: those on the left have new doubts about neo-Nazism and American cold war intentions; fellow-travelers are reinforced in their beliefs; those of the far right

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in Germany, who had always regarded anti-Nazi Germans as subversive or as traitors to Germany, now see themselves vindicated. The moderate democratic groups, those who support the Social Democrats as well as Adenauer's followers, are the element in Germany grievously wounded. Once again left and right extremists mount an attack on the center.

The second blow to the European community idea came from France. Premier Mendes-France had promised to suggest modifications to the EDC treaty which, in his opinion, would make that treaty acceptable to Frenchmen as well as to the other signatory nations. He came up with a curious set of qualifications which virtually eliminate the supernational character of the treaty, make it into a loose coalition of nations, and give Germans the valid fear that their troops will be used only as mercenaries and that Germany is not to be an equal partner in the organization. They also bear the marks of having been conceived as a bargaining tool to be used in seeking a European settlement with the USSR.

The new modifications will certainly be opposed by the Germans, as well as by the British, the Benelux nations and Italy. Ironically, they also are opposed by a considerable body of Frenchmen, the members of the MRP which conceived the original treaty, and by the Gaullists, who oppose it (or at least are giving the public impression that they oppose it) on grounds of French nationalism—that is, on the grounds that it *still* is too supernational.

Thus stands one of the strangest diplomatic situations in a long time. Mendes-France satisfies virtually no one here or in Europe. The European allies are more firmly opposed to the modifications than is the United States; what happens next is a real mystery. One guess might be risked: EDC in its original supernational form, with its essential commitment to the idea of European political unification, seems to be all but done for. What we have a good chance of getting is an EDC in name only; nationalism will then have won.

PREVENTIVE WAR

THE most recent arguments in favor of some form of preventive war, specifically former Ambassador William C. Bullitt's article in the last issue of *Look,* follow closely upon the visit to this country of another advocate of preventive war, President Syngman Rhee of South Korea.

These gentlemen contend that the United States should begin a war of liberation against Communist-controlled territory now while we hold a certain measure of advantage. This argument has some weight in the narrow field of power: if war is inevitable it is better to win it while you can.

The problem, of course, is that we cannot accept the premise that war is inevitable. We are not so fatuous as to deny that it is not only possible but perhaps even probable that the struggle with Communism may disintegrate into catastrophic war. But even a likelihood is not a certainty; a good chance of avoiding war through fortitude and perseverance is surely better than to begin the end.

Thus President Eisenhower's statement at his press conference August 12 that he and his Administration rejected the idea of preventive war—and rejected too the idea that the United States should try to take over the UN, turning it into an anti-Communist alliance—was, in our opinion, a sober and welcome policy declaration.

WELCOME TEXTBOOK

SOME weeks ago an "expert" serving with a Congressional committee provoked considerable comment in the press by labeling certain unidentified selections from Popes Leo XIII and Pius XI as "Communistic." Dramatic though this incident was, it probably could be repeated many times over in various parts of the country. The sad fact is that comparatively few people have any basic acquaintance with the Church's social teaching.

One important reason for this lack of popular knowledge has been the shortage of men qualified to take the social encyclicals out of the abstract and apply them to the realities of American life. For this reason Catholic college and university teachers welcomed the publication by Bruce a few years ago of *Catholic Social Principles,* written by Father John F. Cronin, S.S., assistant director of the Social Action Department of the NCWC. In that book Father Cronin demonstrated his ability to apply Catholic principles to concrete situations in American economic life, and as a result his book was hailed as an important addition to the still too small collection of authoritative American Catholic commentaries on the encyclicals. It is now used in many Catholic colleges and universities.

All who are interested in Catholic social thought will therefore be cheered by news that Father Cronin has now written another book. Called *Problems and Opportunities in a Democracy,* and published as a textbook by Mentzer, Bush and Company in Chicago, Father Cronin's new book is designed for use by Catholic high school seniors in connection with a course in government and related social studies.

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The American Laity

"A DISTINGUISHING CHARACTERISTIC OF THE VAST BULK OF AMERICAN CATHOLICS IS AN ENORMOUS ABSENCE OF PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE WORK OF THE CHURCH."

✠ ROBERT J. DWYER

ONE hundred and sixty-five years ago, on November 6, 1789, the Holy See proclaimed the establishment of the Diocese of Baltimore and named the Very Reverend John Carroll as its first Bishop. So it was that the same year which saw the inauguration of George Washington as the first President of these United States witnessed also the birth of the American Church as an integrated unit of the Mystical Body of Christ.

In Bishop Carroll's diocese, stretching from New England to Georgia and from the Atlantic coast to the Mississippi, he counted something like forty thousand of the laity in a population of nearly four million, and his priests mustered a bare thirty, several of them already beyond the years of service.

By 1808 the advancement of the Church had gone forward with such strides that it was found necessary to create Baltimore a metropolitan see, with New York, Philadelphia, Boston, and Bardstown as suffragans. By then the American Church had its first seminary, and colleges and schools were struggling to the fore. When death came for Carroll in 1815 the Church had gained sufficient strength to enable it to breast and survive the period of testing which then awaited it.

Wherein lay the secret of Archbishop Carroll's architectural genius in building the Church? The immediate answer, obviously, acknowledges the grace of God and the abiding presence of the Holy Spirit. But there is a second answer, which contains the germ of this discussion. Carroll grasped, with a clarity of vision and purpose unique in his time, the necessity of cordial cooperation between hierarchy and laity in performing the work of the Church. The phrase is borrowed from the definition of Catholic Action given us by the late Pope Pius XI. Archbishop Carroll, a century and a half earlier, and without troubling himself over phrases or definitions, had made this cooperation a part of American Catholic life.

It is difficult for us to realize, at this remove, the well-nigh revolutionary nature of Archbishop Carroll's approach to the problem of the relationship between hierarchy and laity. He was a man of the eighteenth century, a period of Church history marked preeminently by what might almost be called a line of demarcation between the bishops of the Church—with the higher clergy in close alliance—and the lower clergy and the inarticulate laity on the other hand.

In France, still the Eldest Daughter of the Church, there was the clerical estate, separate from nobility and commons. If in villages and country places there survived a spirit of understanding and union between priest and people, there was appallingly little of it left in the cities and almost none in those exalted realms where the lords spiritual occupied themselves with matters only vaguely pertaining to the welfare of the Church. It was all to come crashing down in the enormous catastrophe of the Revolution, and the tragedy of it is that so drastic a house-cleaning was inevitable, sweeping away, as it did, so much that was venerable along with so much that was decayed. But the fact is that for Christendom pre-Revolutionary France was widely regarded as the ideal.

The characteristics of the French Church were accepted as norms almost everywhere in Europe and in Latin America. It was taken for granted that a bishop should live in pratical isolation from his flock, and it was hardly thought of that there should be actual cooperation between hierarchy and laity in carrying out the work of the Church. This, of course, is sketching in broadest outline; that there were notable and glorious exceptions to these generalities goes without saying; but the exceptions do not lighten the total picture, nor did they actually prevent the Church from suffering enormous harm when the Revolution struck.

To the extent that Archbishop Carroll was influenced by his acquaintance with the Catholic Church in England, where he had many personal contacts, he undoubtedly saw the advantages of a different spirit. The English Church was then living practically in the catacombs, still laboring under the remembered weight of the penal system. The Vicars Apostolic led hidden lives, seeking out opportunities of gathering their priests and people together in alleys and ale-houses, under

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The Most Rev. Robert J. Dwyer is Bishop of Reno. He adapted this article from an address he delivered to the Serra International Convention in July.

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conditions not unlike the Early Church of the martyrs. But whatever the hardships, one golden result was forthcoming, a feeling of intimate unity between the bishops and their people. Their cause was one, as their sufferings were borne in common. Nor was Carroll unaware of the even more intimate relations of the Irish bishops and priests with their laity. In the long record of bitter persecution endured by prelate and layman alike in Ireland, he read the emphatic lesson that the strength of the Church lies always in their union of heart and mind.

ADDED to these influences, he was an American. Attached as he was to the principle of authority as a Catholic and as a priest—indeed, as a member of the Society of Jesus before its suppression—he nevertheless was in cordial agreement with the demand for independence for the American colonies. When our Revolution broke out, he was ready to give his services, along with Benjamin Franklin, as an envoy to the French of British Canada in an effort, which proved fruitless, to persuade them to join the American cause. With most of his priests and practically all of his people, he was a patriot without reserve. He hailed the new democracy as the world's best hope, and he never regretted or retracted his decision. More than that, he recognized in American democracy a fresh leaven in which the Church could grow and flourish.

So it was that throughout his ministry in the land of his birth, as priest, as Prefect-Apostolic, and as Bishop, Carroll strove to reconcile the familiar customs of the Church to the conditions of this New World. While asserting without fear or favor the rights of ecclesiastical authority, he would associate himself as closely as possible with his people. He was their shepherd not only by way of a scriptural figure of speech, but as one moving among them, living their lives, entering into their joys and sorrows. He was no alienated man, cherishing some fond illusion that the Church in America could be built on a pre-Revolutionary French model, with the bishop occupying an estate all by himself. This, incidentally, was probably not easy for John Carroll, for he was not what one would describe as a man of naturally warm sympathies, but rather remote and reserved. He broke through the barrier, nevertheless, with the result that during his years as head of the American Church he created an authentic atmosphere of trust and cooperation between himself, his priests, and his people.

It was well that Archbishop Carroll had built so well this spirit of understanding between the laity and the hierarchy in America. Even before his death and disturbing his last years the rumblings of troubles ahead were audible. The inner history of the Catholic Church in America from Carroll's death in 1815 until the eve of the Civil War is largely concerned with the controversy called Trusteeism. This was one of the major factors in the shaping of the Church as she is today—for better and for worse. Without understanding it we cannot fully grasp why she still entertains certain stubborn fears and disquietudes in the matter of full cooperation between hierarchy and laity. Perhaps, with a heightened understanding, we may be better able to lay some of the ghosts which still lurk in our closets.

TRUSTEEISM, briefly, was an effort on the part of a small minority of American lay Catholics, aided and abetted (when not actually led) by a few discontented priests, to overthrow the authority of the bishops. It was strongly tinctured by Protestantism, strongly influenced by ideas borrowed from Rousseau and the *Philosophes,* strongly infested by the leveling tendencies in our own American Revolution against which Washington himself was so vigorously opposed. It sought, first of all, to deny to the American bishops the actual ownership of Church properties, which the malcontents asserted should be vested in bodies called trustees, and in which the bishops should have only their individual voice. It went on to claim that the appointments or dismissals of parish priests should rest with the trustees, not with the bishops, and so with the foundation of parishes and the establishment and conduct of diocesan schools and charitable institutions. In a word, Trusteeism was an attempt to make the American Church a lay church. It would have substituted for co-operation between hierarchy and laity the complete subservience of hierarchy to laity, on the plan so commonly followed by the American Protestants in their various frames of church government.

Be it confessed, not all of Archbishop Carroll's contemporaries and successors in the American hierarchy were men of his judgment and prudence; not all shared his convictions concerning the congeniality of our democratic institutions for the growth and prosperity of the Church. The West had its great apostle in Flaget, the South soon would have its stalwart England of Charleston, Boston its gentle Cheverus, but Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York, key cities and sees, were assigned to men who had neither the vision nor the ability to cope with the situation, aggravated as it was by Trusteeism. The result was a period verging on chaos for the American Church. For a time, in the '20s, '30s, and on into the '40s of the last century it seemed as though large segments of the Church might drift into actual schism and ultimate heresy.

The factors which prevented such a disaster were many, among which may be noted the beginning of the great Irish and German Catholic immigrations to these shores, bringing vast populations who were not interested in this particular quarrel, the outbreak of

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the Know-Nothing movement, violently anti-Catholic, which caused in reaction a closing of our own ranks in defense, and the success, after long struggles, of the majority of the bishops in disciplining the refractory priests and in asserting their authority over both the spiritualities and the temporalities of the Church. And added to these perhaps the most important factor of all, the foundation spirit of mutual understanding between hierarchy and laity which was Archbishop Carroll's enduring legacy.

Trusteeism had to be crushed, no doubt about that, for had it not been rooted out it would have warped and sprung the Catholic Church in this country. But as is the case with almost every draconian measure, the rooting out of Trusteeism meant also the damaging of the original American Catholic spirit which has been identified here with Archbishop John Carroll. Essential as was the victory for the divinely established authority of the bishops to rule their dioceses as successors of the Apostles, and not as chairmen of governing boards, it nevertheless resulted in a situation where the part of the laity in this cooperative effort which is the work of the Church was reduced almost to a minimum. There was nothing obnoxious in the original concept of laymen's acting as trustees of the churches and institutions, so long as this meant cordial and sincere cooperation with bishops and pastors, with prompt and respectful acknowledgment of the voice of authority when it spoke out in final decision. There is much, theoretically, in favor of an ideal arrangement in which the temporalities of the Church should be confided in large measure at least to the care of the laity, leaving the clergy untrammeled for the cure of souls. But as a matter of historical record, the reaction against Trusteeism, in the form of lay interference and arrogation of authority, took the form of the practical exclusion of the laity from any discretion in the temporalities of the Church.

Another factor which gave impetus to the development of the American Church along lines of exclusive clerical control was the enormous influx of immigrants. The average Catholic newcomer, hampered by educational, linguistic, and social handicaps, had few ambitions for leadership in Church affairs. He was willing enough to leave the running of the church to his pastor, a wiser man than he, and to the bishop, of whom he stood in wordless awe. It was the business of the clergy alone, as he saw it, to manage the Church according to their greater enlightenment; it was his business to get ahead and to save his soul. Cooperation as a principle in the life of the Church never entered his head, nor was it suggested from the pulpit, save as a matter of the collection. Other than that, it might as well have been a temptation of the devil.

But times change, and, saving that which is changeless in the deposit of faith and in the constitution of God's Church, we change with them. Never, even in the darkest hours of the reaction against the virus of Trusteeism was lay-cooperation in the work of the hierarchy wholly forgotten or ignored. Most American bishops and priests, however jealous of their rights and privileges, were not insensible of the vast reservoir of power in the laity. Indeed, the whole point and purpose of the mighty effort of building the Catholic school system was not merely the negative hope of preserving the Faith, but the positive determination to create an educated and responsible laity. The Councils of Baltimore, in 1852, 1866, and 1884, stressed and reiterated this objective. At the end of the century there was held in the primatial city, at the invitation of Cardinal Gibbons, a national congress of the American laity, and in the vastly interesting records of this meeting there is written large the almost pathetic eagerness of its leaders, men like the late William J. Onahan of Chicago, to do more for the Church than merely occupy the pews, receive the Sacraments, and contribute toward her support. The congress, however, was perhaps a trifle premature. The more conservative members of the hierarchy bethought themselves again of Trusteeism, not yet a dead issue in some areas, and the storms raised at the time over the issues of the so-called "Americanism" and the much more real threat of Modernism, made it impractical to call the congress into further sessions.

THERE was no gainsaying, however, the fact that the new century was insisting upon a larger spirit. At the end of the first world war the bishops of America, gathered together in Washington to launch the National Catholic Welfare Conference on a permanent basis, issued in 1919 their famous statement on the reconstruction of the social order, John A. Ryan's masterpiece. It made clear their mind concerning the active participation of the laity in the whole program of giving Catholic life in this country a fresh impetus. And as the work of the Conference developed, through the '20s and the '30s, lay activity in cooperation with the hierarchy became a cardinal objective, with the establishment of the departments devoted specifically to men, women, and youth. Finally, as a kind of seal of approval on this entire movement, there came from Rome, during the pontificate of Pope Pius XI, the clarion call for Catholic Action, with its specific definition of the program as the vital participation of the laity in the work of the hierarchy.

During the past three decades, certainly, rapid progress has been made in the development of a spirit of genuine union of purpose and effort. Much has been done to overcome the old hesitancies, both on the part of the clergy and the laity. Yet it is almost superfluous to remark that we have only begun to utilize

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this tremendous potential of cooperative zeal. We are still slowly feeling our way along. No one in his right mind—his Catholic mind—wants anything like a return to the flagrant evils of Trusteeism. We are agreed that the center and source of inspiration and direction must remain where it was placed by nothing less than the Divine Will which established the Church, in the episcopate. Any diminution of this authority or any tampering with it can only bring disaster upon us. But at the same time we are still searching for new methods, new channels, for significant lay activity. Some we have explored already and found useful and profitable in varying degrees, but it would be stupid to suppose that we have done much more than scratch the surface.

And it is precisely in this matter of the cooperation of the hierarchy and the laity that there is found the greatest weakness in the Church in America. How quick our opponents are to grasp the significance of this weakness is demonstrated by their constant efforts to create an atmosphere of distrust in this very area. Men like Paul Blanshard are anything but fools. Their persistence in trying to persuade America and American Catholics in particular that the hierarchy is a purely self-seeking body of men, who work day and night to keep the laity in abject subjection and blind ignorance, intimates the wisdom of the serpent. For they realize very clearly that up to the present moment we have not perfected the means of putting our potential of cooperation to work. They know that a distinguishing characteristic of the vast bulk of American Catholics is an enormous absence of personal responsibility for the work of the Church, and they are keenly aware that not too much is being done to remedy the situation. They have found the vacuum.

That vacuum is primarily our concern, as it is our reproach. It is our task to fill it with the Actual Grace of God's saving activity, moving men to perform their appropriate personal share in this divine work.

Our history, which leaves us, perhaps, with the vague sense that just about now we are catching up with where we were when we started, has at least an instructive value. We have gained a considerable experience in our fairly brief span, without, fortunately, too great an expenditure of tears. If we can honestly say now that we know where we are going and what goals it is necessary for us to achieve, that in itself is no small advantage. The Catholic Church in America tomorrow will be the same as she was yesterday and is today, but that is not to say that she will not be stronger and even more intensely Catholic by reason of the closer, more intimate, more fruitful spirit of cooperation of bishops, priests, and laity working together. It may even, please God, remind another generation of that primitive Church of the Apostles when "the multitude of believers had but one heart and one mind."

IN AMERICA

Science and Security

THE OPPENHEIMER CASE LET THE AMERICAN PEOPLE VIEW THE COMPLEXITY AND CONFUSION INVOLVED IN HOLDING THE LINE OF SCIENTIFIC SECURITY.

JAMES BERNARD KELLEY

TWENTY years ago the security we all sought was the security from bank failures, stock market manipulations, destitute old age, sudden hirings and firings in our jobs and the general fear that we could not look beyond today in planning for ourselves and our children. Security of an economic variety was, and to a large extent still is, of tremendous importance to the American people as a nation and as individuals. But today emphasis has shifted to another kind of security—perhaps secrecy is a better word—because of the threat posed by international Communism. The world is only technically at peace. It is undecided whether to expect war momentarily or to hang on a little longer in the hope that war can be avoided.

War has now passed out of the realm of a struggle between professional armies and navies and has become an immensely complicated affair filled with a lifetime's nightmare of weapons and counterweapons. The safety of a nation depends on these weapons, and in some circles it is felt that the more terrifying the weapons the better the security of the nation possessing them. But since these weapons are the product of human intellects, it is difficult to know exactly how to keep them secure from the enemy. What is even more confusing is that the enemy changes, so that

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the ally of yesterday may be the foe of today, and the foe of yesterday the friend of today.

In the Oppenheimer case the American public was given the opportunity to view from a front seat the complexity and confusion involved in trying to hold the line of scientific security. Whether one agrees or disagrees with the ultimate decision reached, few will say that the men who made the decision were callous or cavalier in their treatment of Dr. Oppenheimer. He surely had a fair trial, as it were. He had the opportunity to confront his accusers. He had the right to counsel, and excellent counsel it was. Yet, despite all this there lingers a doubt, a doubt felt by those who found against him as well as those who found for him. For the security required of modern science is a security which is at once alien to science and to the free exchange of ideas.

The scientist of today lives in a strange world—one in the making of which he had no greater or lesser share than his fellow-citizens, but still a world that is very strange. If he is a physicist he has to be able to pass security muster or he might as well leave his chosen field. Without security clearance he is almost literally unemployable. No government or industrial position is open to him and even in the academic world he is limited and in constant danger of becoming a *cause célèbre*. The millions of dollars which pour into universities and colleges from the government and industry for work in physics, chemistry and engineering make these institutions virtual governmental and industrial adjuncts. As a result, the scientist denied security clearance lives on the brink of unemployment in his own profession.

Although I have not read the entire 1061 pages of the official report of the testimony in the case of Dr. Oppenheimer, I have read large portions of it including the findings of both boards and the correspondence of General K. D. Nichols, the General Manager of the Atomic Energy Commission. From reading these pages of testimony one fact stood out. Very little was said about Dr. Oppenheimer in 1954 that could not have been said ten years before. Perhaps these excerpts from the memorandum which General Nichols sent to the members of the Atomic Energy Commission (Messrs. Strauss, Murray, Zuckert, Campbell and Dr. Smyth) on June 12, 1954 will give a clue.

"He [Dr. Oppenheimer] was selected in spite of the fact that he was considered a 'calculated risk.' He *would not have been chosen* [for the Directorship of the Los Alamos Laboratory] had he not been considered virtually *indispensable* to the atomic bomb project. . . . In regard to Dr. Oppenheimer's net worth to atomic energy projects, I believe that *since World War II his value* to the Atomic Energy Commission as a scientist or as a consultant *has declined* because of his loss of scientific objectivity probably resulting from the diversion of his efforts to political fields and matters not purely scientific in nature."

General Nichols then points out that Dr. Oppenheimer has been used on only six occasions as a consultant in the last two years. He continues, "I *doubt that the Atomic Energy Commission,* even if the question of his security clearance had not arisen, *would have utilized his services* during the next few years." (Emphasis added in all cases.)

These statements by General Nichols raise a number of interesting questions. Was the clearance of Dr. Oppenheimer reopened because it was no longer necessary to use him, because he had become expendable? If the "rise in competence and skill of other scientists" had not taken place would Dr. Oppenheimer be still cleared? And what does General Nichols mean when he says Dr. Oppenheimer lost "scientific objectivity?"

THE impression exists in many minds that Dr. Oppenheimer was safe as long as he was useful, and that his security clearance was safe as long as he was needed. Now, this impression may be entirely wrong and unjust to the men who made the decision. But even though, according to Commissioner Thomas E. Murray (who voted against renewal of clearance), "The system itself is only a structure of law, not a set of truths," any legal system should be based on truth to the best of the ability of those who draw up the system. The notion that our security system is full of holes or is a poor one but the best we can get should be a false notion. There is no such thing in intelligent society as admitting that injustice will be done and letting it go at that.

Executive Order 10450 (the same order which has wreaked such havoc in the State Department and the order to which General Nichols refers) provides:

> "Section 8 (a). The investigations conducted pursuant to this order shall be designed to develop information as to whether the employment or retention in employment in the Federal service of a person being investigated is clearly consistent with the interests of the national security. Such information shall relate, but shall not be limited, to the following:
>
> (i) Any behavior, activities, or accusations which tend to show that the individual is not reliable or trustworthy.
>
> (ii) Any deliberate misrepresentations, falsifications, or omission of material facts.
>
> (iii) Any criminal, infamous, dishonest, immoral, or notoriously disgraceful conduct, habitual use of intoxicants to excess, drug addiction, or sexual perversion."

It was under this order that Dr. Oppenheimer was vulnerable. But Dr. Ward V. Evans in his dissent from

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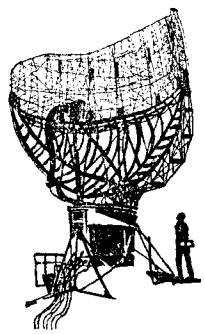
the majority opinion of the Personnel Security Board which actually heard the evidence said: "Most of the derogatory information was in the hands of the Commission when Dr. Oppenheimer was cleared in 1947. They apparently were aware of his associations and his left-wing policies; yet they cleared him. They took a chance on him because of his special talents and he continued to do a good job. . . . To deny him clearance now for what he was cleared for in 1947, when we must know he is less of a security risk now than he was then, seems to be hardly the procedure to be adopted in a free country."



The two men who dissented in both the Personnel Security Board decision and the Atomic Energy Commission decision were scientists—Dr. Evans and Dr. Henry D. Smyth. There are some people who feel that scientists may be expected to "stick together" and defend each other. This is an injustice to scientists, not at all unlike the Blanshard technique of dismissing counter arguments by Catholics on the grounds that as Catholics they may be expected to disagree with him. It also assumes that scientists would defend disloyalty if it is a scientist who is disloyal. Scientists are deeply and personally involved in security as few other people are; their opinions are valuable because they know the effects for better or worse of security restrictions.

"The Oppenheimer case is one manifestation of a trend or pattern which is extremely disturbing. There is a grave danger that in attempting to conceal secrets we may find ourselves with nothing—or not enough—to conceal. We are in a scientific and technological race. Unless we keep moving on apace, the Russians may get ahead of us. We cannot keep ahead without full use of our scientific talent.

"A wholehearted, intimate partnership among scientists, military men, and civilian policymakers is essential to our future safety. Neither the scientists nor the military men alone can grasp the practical meaning to warfare of the rapid evolution now occurring. During the second world war, an effective partnership was gradually developed. Recently this partnership had been seriously damaged and is being gradually destroyed. Both in the Department of Defense and in the Atomic Energy Commission, there are practices and have been occurrences which discourage scientists and prevent them from making their maximum contribution to our safety. Our internal security system has run wild. It is imperative to our real security that the trend be reversed.

"The scientists want no special treatment or privileges in the community, but they do want to work in partnership and under conditions in which their efforts will be reasonably appreciated."

Thus spoke Dr. Vannevar Bush, wartime head of the Office of Scientific Research, a man who has had a distinguished career in scientific education, research and unstinting government service.

AT the same time that the Oppenheimer case was filling so many pages of newsprint another item crept into some of the newspapers. Nobel laureate P. A. M. Dirac of England was denied a visa to spend a year of study in the United States. According to Dr. Dirac he was "turned down flat" under the terms of Section 212A of the Immigration and Naturalization Act (McCarran-Walter Act). This section is quite lengthy and covers all types of undesirables including moral degenerates, vagrants, stowaways, political undesirables, subversives, alcoholics and so on. Presumably Dr. Dirac falls into the category of political undesirable.

In commenting on the Dirac case the New York *Times* had this to say: "One of the factors contributing to the ruling against Professor Dirac, it is understood, was the 'atmosphere' in this country. This appeared to indicate that an application that might have been approved a few years ago might be rejected today."

While this is only opinion on the part of the *Times* it is not opinion which is without a base in fact. Again quoting Mr. Murray, who despite the apparent severity of his strictures against Dr. Oppenheimer, seemed to have the best grasp of the problem: "Therefore this system [the security system] of law is not, and must not be allowed to become, a form of thought control." Perhaps Mr. Murray does not wish our security system to become a form of thought control but if events continue to follow their present paths, can there be any real hope that thought control—however subtle and under whatever name—will not exist in hard fact?

Professor Dirac is one of the world's outstanding mathematical physicists. His contributions to modern physics have been tremendous, and by those contributions he has assisted in the development of our atomic and thermonuclear weapons. The shock of his being barred from this country strikes all scholars, whether they be physicists or philosophers or literary men. It is true that the State Department is now reviewing his case, but the damage has already been done.

Security has meaning only if it accomplishes its purpose of protecting the country. And this protection must include something more than geographical integrity. We are guarding not only latitudes and longitudes but a way of life of which freedom is an essential part. So when we set about designing a security system, we are presumably aiming at a system which will not only keep the enemy out of our country physically

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but will also keep from our shores philosophies of government and life which would be as alien as Russian troops in Times Square.

Is the United States a safer place to live now that Dr. Oppenheimer has had his clearance taken away from him? Can I feel that my children are less likely to be disintegrated by a hydrogen bomb now that Professor Dirac is barred? Is it reasonably certain that we will have better and more productive scientific research under the present security regulations than we had formerly? There are more questions of a like nature. And if the answer to each in its turn is in the negative, then why do we have these regulations? What function are they performing?

IT has often been said that the issuance of security clearance by the government is a privilege not a right. This is fair enough. Service to one's country must always be considered a privilege as far as the country is concerned and a duty as far as the citizen is concerned. However, rejection or acceptance of such service by the government must never appear to be capricious or frivolous. There has been too much talk lately in connection with both Congressional investigations and security clearance about "injuring a few for the protection of the many." This sort of thing sounds strangely like the old Communist line, "You can't make an omelet without breaking some eggs."

Security is issued on an individual basis, and generally speaking after a thorough investigation by the Federal Bureau of Investigation and/or by the intelligence services of the armed forces. Security clearance can be withdrawn or denied without explanation, and for people in lesser positions and of lesser fame than Dr. Oppenheimer finding out the reasons for the denial or withdrawal may be impossible. As a rule, denial or withdrawal of clearance means loss of job with no chance of obtaining another job in the same type of work. The whole system therefore involves grave responsibilities on the part of the government as well as on the part of the individual.

The fact that clearance is once issued does not mean it will ever be issued again. A person who is not a security risk under present law may become one under a new law, since the concept of security risk most assuredly varies with the political climate of the time. At the present time any scientist who has ever had Communist associations is in danger of having his clearance removed. What people do not seem to realize is how easily it may happen that some of the associations have continued into the present.

For example, a friend of mine—a non-scientist who has no clearance worries—feels certain that one of his neighbors is at least a strong fellow-traveler. Both men belong to the same civic association, both men frequently meet at the railroad station on their way to work in the morning, both men see a great deal of each other. There is an unavoidable amount of human contact. Would this make my friend, if he were a scientist, a security risk? At one time he was quite a good friend of this man, but because of their differences in political philosophy they have drifted apart. Yet there is association.

In my own case I can truthfully say that I never knew anyone of my friends or acquaintances to be a Communist. I did know, particularly during the late thirties and early forties, a number of people who were quite a distance left of any position I might assume, although to say they were Communists would be the sheerest conjecture on my part. But it might turn out that they were; I don't know. Perhaps they have been Party members for years; I don't know that either. Some of these people were good friends who helped me in many small ways and whose company I enjoyed despite our political differences. Everyone who was in graduate school or teaching in secular colleges and universities during those days had that experience; it was unavoidable. Scores of the people involved, including some of those whose political opinions differed from mine, went on to do highly classified work for the government, and they did excellent jobs. What about them? What about the many associates of Dr. Oppenheimer at the University of California who shared some or all of his opinions in those days, and then went on to become valued men in government service?

Security, it seems to me, has to take into account the individual citizen as well as what we call "the common good." If we feel that a man has a right to some degree of economic security, then we should also feel that a man has a right to some degree of personal and mental security. In other words, a man should not be constantly under the pressure of having his past reviewed interminably, with the threat always hanging over his head that some new set of regulations will destroy whatever security he possesses.

The tricky thing about security regulations is that revisions are always retroactive; a man who was not a security risk in 1950 may become a security risk in 1954, although he has done nothing out of order since 1950. The basis for declaring him a security risk in 1954 may be material which dates back to 1942.

In security matters there is no such thing as the principle of "double jeopardy," nor is there any such thing as "paying for your crimes" and then being through with them. If a man once was guilty of unwise associations or membership in tainted organizations, then neither time, nor future loyal service, nor reform will necessarily assure him of being considered reliable security-wise. This frequently becomes a war of nerves against the "common good," not for it. As Dr. Bush pointed out, the scientist does not ask for special

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favors. He merely asks for the same treatment accorded his fellow-citizens. If the scientist is a man apart, he has been made so by others.

SCIENTISTS complain about security regulations. At the same time they know that they are here to stay, if for no other reason than political, and that they may well get worse before they get better. Scientists will continue to comply with the regulations, but they have grave doubts as to the actual good they accomplish.

Security regulations are not a be-all and end-all. The man on the street should not be given the idea that the Russians could never have built the atom bomb without first stealing the plans or that once having the plans the Russians needed German scientists to interpret them and German engineers to build them. This impression of Russian incompetence is encouraged by much of the semi-official talk one hears.

The truth, of course, is that there are many excellent applied mathematicians, theoretical physicists and engineers in the Soviet Union. These men are native-born Russians and are quite capable of duplicating or exceeding our own best accomplishments. If they suffer from any serious drawbacks, it is that they are too closely watched and have too little freedom of an intellectual nature. There are too many security rules and regulations in the Soviet Union. Why should the U.S. risk making the same mistake?

It should be remembered that where the human intellect is concerned, the notion of secrecy has only a limited value. We can have perfect security here in the United States, but that fact will not keep the Soviet Union from making its own discoveries in the field of new weapons and counterweapons. If security regulations are allowed to become an end in themselves, they could easily become the U.S. Maginot Line.

IN RUSSIA

Soviet Plan for Science

A PAINSTAKINGLY DRAWN PROGRAM OF SCIENTIFIC AND INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT FOR WORLD SUPREMACY

J. PAAR-CABRERA

IN a small community not far from the hydroelectric plants of Alma Ata, in southern Russia, there stands a five-room house with all modern conveniences. Close to it there is a laboratory. Inside this laboratory, the walls of one large room are lined with row upon row of shelves, all loaded with boxes, not of scientific equipment, but of tin soldiers.

These are no ordinary children's toys, but beautiful objects which would be collectors' items anywhere in the world. Some were salvaged from the pillage of Germany, some represent the very best efforts of craftsmen in Paris and London. The items included range from war-chariots and archers of dynastic Egypt and ancient Assyria to the gaudily attired soldiers of the age of Maria-Theresa, Frederick the Great, Catherine of Russia and Louis XV—from painstaking reproductions of troops of all nationalities in the Napoleonic era to the soldiers of the present day. The pieces which go to make up this collection were found, purchased regardless of expense, and imported into the Soviet Union. The beneficiary of all this effort? Not a member of the Politburo, but a German scientist, captured by a patrol of Marshal Vasilevsky's army at the end of the second world war.

The scientist in question is a genius. Although aero-hydrodynamics is his specialty, he is also a wizard in thermonuclear research and the top-secret neutronic studies. But he must do as he pleases with an utter disregard for discipline. Assigned to a task, he plays for days with the soldiers which are his hobby. He spends additional days absorbed in thoughts of his own which he does not care to reveal. Then he comes out with a finding of primary importance, often one which has very little to do with the work required from him.

This scientist is no Communist. His wife shares his captivity—if captivity it can be called, for he is allowed to go wherever he pleases. His wife was born of noble parents in eastern Prussia and never did a stroke of housework in her life. In proletarian Soviet Russia, nobody expects her to do any; a comrade maid attends to all chores around the house.

This couple's children go to the school for children of local Army and MVD officers, scientists, bureaucrats and technicians. They are never asked to join the Young Communist Pioneers. If they ever do, the pick of all Soviet futures will be theirs for the taking.

Mr. Paar-Cabrera was for many years a professional soldier. He is now engaged in biological research.

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In any case, if they are able, they will be allowed to become scientists like their father. If their intelligence is not up to it, they will merge into the grey multitude of primary school teachers and workers.

IN another laboratory, this one a top-secret thermonuclear center on the Ob river, in Siberia, works a famous physicist and thermonuclear expert. He is not a German by birth, but the Russians found him in Germany, working for the Nazis. Never attractive, he was plagued from his early youth by sexual frustrations. His Russian masters ordered some Slav beauties to make him happy. He is now doing a first-class job for Russia.

Other captured scientists, longing for their native countries, and without sympathy for Communism and Russia, are not so happy. They chafe under the obligations and restrictions imposed upon them. But the Russians keep on trying to please them, not because they like them, but for strictly utilitarian purposes.

Such a policy is part of a carefully worked out Soviet plan. It is one of the postulates of the Russian leadership that nothing must interfere with this plan, which is a painstakingly drawn program of scientific and industrial development for world supremacy.

In the Soviet order of things, the scientist who is also a tested Communist ranks second only to the foremost Party leaders, the coordiators of industrial activities and the Army marshals. He enjoys a high salary and the privileges accorded the high castes of the Soviet state. He is, therefore, no problem. His role is clear, and the plan delineates his status cursorily. What it dwells on at length is the treatment to be used for brilliant non-Communist scientists, whether native-born, immigrants or captured.

The Soviet plan for science places such scientists in three categories: the super-intelligent; those endowed with extraordinary learning; those meeting both qualifications. These last, of course, are the most important of all.

The Soviet plan states that any scientist falling into any of these three categories must not be dealt with in the normal way. He must be treated as a human being belonging to a genus apart, as one who cannot be indoctrinated or fooled, a person who will prove extremely useful only if allowed to be happy in his own way.

Consequently, no fervent allegiance, no rigid conformity to Marxist and Soviet ideology is expected from him. If he indulges in occasional "indiscreet" utterances or criticisms of the regime, they are never brought up against him. If he produces results, his hobbies, personal likings, eccentricities, and even his vices, are catered to.

His freedom to enjoy himself as he pleases, even during working hours, is complete. But he is limited to his home, his laboratory or office, and the buffer zone around the testing grounds or plants. If he goes to the country for an outing, to a restaurant, a show or elsewhere, a trusted Communist must be at his side.

This ban on mixing freely with fellow human beings does not distress the average non-Communist scientist in Soviet Russia. He is no uncomfortable captive; he gets everything he likes and needs, and he is restricted from activities which usually have no appeal for him in any case. It is well known that scientists are seldom extroverts or cheerful mixers. In an average crowd, they are apt to get bored.

However, genius has a curious quality. Whether it strives for it or not, genius inevitably creates partisans and wins devoted admirers. In Russia, the Communist scientist knows better than to mix in politics. In the case of the non-Communist scientist, inordinate care is taken in an effort to make sure that he does not sway anybody's mind. Yet despite these facts, the intellectual ability and lucidity of expression displayed by both Communist and non-Communist scientists have given them real ascendancy over the minds of technicians and laboratory assistants.

IN Soviet Russia, industrial development, particularly the development of heavy industry, has taken precedence over all other peacetime activities since 1920. Since 1946, there has been added an emphasis on scientific progress at a steadily increasing pace. In such a set-up, the numerical expansion of those who fall in the category of technicians is amazing, and the growth of their political influence phenomenal.

In 1954 there exists in Russia a paradoxical situation. This is no more and no less than a back-fire resulting from twenty-six years of materialistic indoctrination. All traditions, age-old habits and local beliefs were long ago ruthlessly erased. Forced into the background, without the support of any religious organization to speak of, religion asserts itself sporadically. It survives largely as a love and respect of God deeply felt by a minority, but dissociated from all mundane things.

For thirty-five years a barrage of speeches and literature emphasizing materialistic ends was aimed at the minds of the various races and nations of the Soviet Union. Whenever actual results fell short of the goal and the promised land began to fade away, an excuse was promptly found: the Kulaks refused to do their Communistic duty; the capitalistic powers did some dirty work; the inhabitants of such and such a republic (remote, almost unknown in most of Russia) broke up the general plan with a revolt.

Now, there are the myriads of scientific and industrial technicians to be reckoned with. Their training is such

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that it is almost impossible to fool them on technical questions. Whenever they are in doubt, they turn, not to a political big-wig, but to a scientist.

At the same time, the receptively-minded Soviet workers are beginning to learn from the technicians the truths of science and technological achievements, which can be corroborated by factual evidence and are therefore unassailable. What might be called a practical materialism is taking hold, at the expense of materialistic theories. To an increasing extent, the rapid tempo of scientific and technological expansion is stealing the thunder of Party ideology and propaganda.

The average Soviet citizen remains faithful to Marxism and Communism from force of habit, because he was raised in their doctrines. He cheers the Party speaker because he was trained to do so and because he could get in trouble if he did not. But he respects far more whoever explains a technical truth to him in terms he can understand. Will this respect eventually turn into allegiance? Only time can tell.

At any rate, the scientists indirectly, and the technicians actively, were responsible for the recent rise in the living standards of Russia and the satellite countries. Shortly after Stalin's death, droughts hit Russia hard. Epidemics struck the livestock, and bad harvests disrupted the Soviet schedule. Nevertheless, the official emphasis remained on heavy industry.

As a result, there was widespread unrest in Russia which Soviet propaganda promptly set to work to counteract. However, no scientist who knows Russia will ever believe that anybody needs to go hungry on continents as wide and as replete with food resources as those under Soviet control. Likewise, no scientist can feel anything but contempt for the practice of reducing consumption to starvation level by raising the price of goods.

The objection by the bureaucrats to unusual efforts to meet the food shortage was that the widespread activities involved were bound to interfere with industrial production. This argument the biologists countered by bringing up the findings of laboratory tests which proved that mammalians cannot undergo semi-starvation for months on end without prolonged ill effects. Their point was that the policy of forcing low nutritional standards upon human beings for the sake of providing an abundant industrial output was basically unsound. Deficient diet undermines stamina, lowers resistance to bacteriological infection, provokes cellular degeneration, impairs the fitness of the newborn and shackles them with mental and physical weaknesses, they said. The technicians took their cue from the scientists and used the same arguments.

MALENKOV, cold-minded and clever, bowed to the inevitable. He decided to raise the standard of living of Russia and its satellites—slowing down, temporarily, that program for heavy industrial expansion that had been up till then the main goal of his life. The scientists had won.

The man who drew up the Soviet plan for science and who induced Stalin to adopt it was Professor Peter Kapitza. Whether he foresaw the results his scheme might have on the Soviet system is a matter for speculation. It is not completely impossible that such changes were part of his real and unavowed aim. Whatever else he was, Professor Peter Kapitza never was a fool, even when he indulged in his pet vices. And his long-range vision was amazing.

From our Western and democratic viewpoint, the political opinions of Professor Kapitza were unacceptable. Almost too shrewd and perpetually sardonic, Kapitza had a low opinion of the mental capacity of the average man and woman. He simply did not consider them capable of selecting the right national representatives. Nevertheless, he sincerely loved humanity in general, and his fervent devotion to his Russian homeland was unquestionable.

Kapitza was too wise to be unaware of the dangers and drawbacks of technocratic rule. But since his humanitarian pessimism left him convinced that man is too faulty ever to develop even a near-perfect social organization and form of government, he thought that technocracy, under national control, was the best available answer to the general need. Whatever its faults his reasoning went, technocracy, under national control, was the best available answer to the general need. Technocracy, he thought, can at least insure the physical welfare of everybody.

As far back as 1926, Professor Kapitza urged the union of Russia with China. Three years ago this became a reality with all its threatening implications for the rest of the world. Kapitza also insisted that scientists and technicians are bound to play a leading role in the Communist world a half-century after the establishment of the Soviet state. That would be from 1968 onward. So far, this prediction seems to be as accurate as his judgment on China. If the West is wise, it will not underrate science in the Soviet Union.

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THE SCREEN

WHERE ARE THE PLAINS OF YESTERYEAR?

THERE'S a sweet-sad air of nostalgia in the new full-length documentary in Walt Disney's True-Life Adventure series. The very title of "The Vanishing Prairie" suggests the end of an era—an era in which the deer and the buffalo and other wild animals, some of which are becoming extinct, roamed at will in the vast grasslands between the Mississippi and the Rockies. Disney's tireless photographers have caught the prairie scene as it was—with the animals in their natural habitats, and without any sign of man.

There's nothing sweet-sad about the visuals themselves in "The Vanishing Prairie," for while many of these animals are herbivorous, the picture shows nature, which labels no creature good or bad, in the raw, and emphasizes the fact that a creature must hurry up and eat and get on or he'll be eaten. There are amazing shots (amazing from the photographic point of view) of a rabbit running from a coyote, and of a mountain lion tracking and killing a deer and then bringing the carcass home to her cubs. There are scenes of birds mating and hatching their young and one outstanding sequence showing a buffalo (the symbol of the vanishing prairie) giving birth to a calf.

Perhaps the most fascinating scenes in the picture are those centering around the prairie dogs, those strange little rodents that stand up on their hind legs, bark shrilly and live in burrows that have been expertly photographed for this technicolor film. These smart, clown-like creatures will no doubt win the picture's best laughs. The prairie dogs teaching their young, building their tunnels, fighting their enemies (everything seems to take a sock at the cocky prairie dog) will become the heroes of "The Vanishing Prairie." Actually the patient and skillful photographers and Director James Algar (who also wrote the script with Winston Hibler and Ted Sears) are the heroes of this first-rate documentary.

ANOTHER documentary that wins our unstinted praise is "The Cowboy," which tells the real saga of ranch life without cluttering it up with fiction or dudes. Produced and directed by Elmo Williams, and nicely photographed in Eastman Color, this unusual little picture starts in "the good old days of 18 and 84" which are visualized with scenes of the open prairie and the catching and taming of mustangs while an old-timer describes the events. The last half of the film shows how a cowboy lives and works today. The script for this likable film was written by Lorraine Williams and it has a quality of informality and friendly understanding for the men it is describing. What "The Cowboy" lacks in technical perfection cinematically, it more than makes up for in authenticity. The picture's almost as refreshing as a vacation.

IF you feel you must have a fiction-type picture for your excursions to the great open spaces, you may very well find "Broken Lance" to your liking. Beautifully photographed in color and CinemaScope with lovely shots of mountainous scenery as well as long prairie vistas with splashy sunsets, "Broken Lance" tells the story of Spencer Tracy, a rough sort of rancher who has built up quite an empire and who pushes practically everyone around. He does have a soft spot, however, for his second wife (Katy Jurado) the daughter of an Indian chief, and his son by this wife (Robert Wagner). When pa gets into trouble through his high-handed methods, this younger son lies in court, takes the rap and goes to jail. The other three sons, led by the eldest (Richard Widmark), soon get even with pa for his years of bullying them; and when the youngest gets out of jail, he and the eldest fight it out in one of the most vicious fights I've ever seen on the screen.

Everyone in this plot except the Indians has a mean streak (Katy is fine and so is Eduard Franz as the Indian ranch foreman); nevertheless, "Broken Lance" has its assets. Edward Dmytryk has directed his large cast well, and the people, although not anyone you'd want to know, act like real people. The father-sons story has a drawing as well as repelling quality, and the suspense carries through to the very end. If you don't like the characters, you can look at the scenery.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG.

COMMUNICATIONS

MAURIAC

Dayton, Ohio

TO the Editors: Mrs. George Norman's otherwise excellent articles on François Mauriac [July 16 & 23] seemed to me to miss an important influence on his early life. M. Mauriac, soon after leaving Ste.-Marie Grand Lebrun, encountered a few of the partisans of the then young and vigorous *Movement Sillon,* and through them, met their leader, Marc Sangnier. In a series of articles, published in English in book form as *The Stumbling Block,* M. Mauriac remarks that his contact with Sangnier, an idealistic and fiery man who had caught the fancy of the intellectual Catholic youth, was short but important in forming and crystallizing his own ideas.

M. Sangnier, a graduate of the then-famous College Stanislas in Paris—which Mauriac extolls in his *Commencements d'une vie* — had formed in the Sillon a

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mode of expression, so to speak, for those Catholics who felt that greater cooperation with the Republic was necessary for the Church. The movement was suppressed in 1910 by the Holy Father because of its confusion of the spiritual and temporal, but at the time of M. Mauriac's contact with Sangnier, the latter was known throughout France as the dynamic leader of one of the most promising Catholic social movements of the day. His enthusiasm was infectious, and for the impressionable Mauriac, perhaps a revelation.

Nevertheless, whether the influence of the Sillon and its social theory on Mauriac was great or not, certainly the personal dynamism of its leader was vivid enough for him to recall it almost half a century later.

(*Bro.*) NORBERT BROCKMAN, S.M.

FAULKNER

Northampton, Mass.

TO the Editors: I have been sitting back reading Faulkner's *A Fable* and the reviews of the same novel. The reviews all seem to add up to this—it's a good book about war but a flop as a symbolic tale. He doesn't bring it off, he doesn't make us believe, he doesn't even show us that we ought to believe. Assuming that the symbolism doesn't quite come off, why doesn't it? The reviews have been silent so I am not going to be.

I suggest a rereading of Conrad's *Typhoon* as a starting point. Here a simple and quiet captain sails his vessel into a typhoon and by sheer pigheaded tenacity and humble honesty, mixed up together in an amazing combination, pulls his vessel through. Now read the exact converse of that novel, namely, Wouk's *The Caine Mutiny*. Here a neurotic and ignorant captain sails into a typhoon and cracks up. A cowardly novelist, a non-too-bright Cape Cod fisherman and an immature Princeton pup bring about his downfall. There no longer are any heroes; only crazy-mixed-up kids.

And herein is the dilemma against which Faulkner writes. Gone is the confidence and repose of the Victorian era. God and values are doubted, if not denied. The era of Conrad saw God forsaken for the rush towards a brave new world based on Darwin, science, industry and material plenty. But by Wouk's time the realization had come—the great day wasn't coming. The fall looms. But the people of the West have become too indoctrinated with their material values, really amoral codes of conduct centered about the material battle for worldly "success," to return to the God they left in the Victorian epoch. They turn to a leader, as in Germany, or on to a system, as in the East.

But a few have not been stirred by this great undercurrent of emotional desire to be swallowed up in some new worldly system. They sense that the West went wrong when it left God. They have become the seekers again. They can't return to the simple days of the Victorians, and they can't satisfy themselves by writing of God as an idea. They want to find out again that God is with us in this world of fear and frustration. Hence, *A Fable* was born, and Faulkner finds in the muddy trenches of a war that initiated the precipitous decline of the West that He exists, He can be found—all is not lost after all.

Look for a moment at the horror of it all. Read, if you will, two more current books. The first is a book on military tactics by Cyril Falls, *One Hundred Years of War* (Buckworth & Co., Ltd., London, 1953). If science and industry have become integral parts of the modern war machine, then the workers in those fields have become soldiers in the modern world. Hence in war today the bombing of civilian centers is a must, a cold and calculated "necessity." Then read Phillip Lee Ralph's *The Story of Our Civilization* (Dutton), and see an excellent analysis of the decline of belief in the West, and with it the great desire for new leaders and systems as an emotional escape. Between the two a fine background for reading the new Faulkner novel can be obtained.

Faulkner cannot turn back the clock to Conrad's day. He is not able to write a new masterpiece of theology or a book on contemplation. He seeks God, and finds him with the men in the trenches, with the few that still yearn for God and see no new cure in the leaders or the systems. But his symbols may fall short, they may not convince. Why? Because one cannot leave the world of Darwin, Einstein, Freud, Hegel, Buchenwald and Siberia and the H-bomb, of realism and of profanity, and suddenly dash off a book about God. His generation has seen too much—too many brave new worlds have turned out to be illusions. Now it is a process of finding God anew—God in the world, still with those who will believe. But the language of God has been ignored for a long time, it must be relearned. Thus, we have here the first baby-steps, the first bit of cave drawing, of what may be a new line of departure in America.

Thus, a new wind may be blowing across the world of American letters. If this be so, let us all greet Faulkner's new effort with cheer. Maybe we can drop the Queegs and try to find our way out of this world of disappointment instead of reveling in it. Let us follow Faulkner and look upwards for a solution, instead of around us for a new material system. The first twigs have sprouted on a new vine. Who can tell, maybe in our day we shall yet see the birth of a real Catholic novelist of stature in America who will turn the first vine into a ripe and living vineyard. . . .

ERNEST F. ROBERTS.

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The Argument for a "Condition of Liquidity"

THE LIMITS OF FOREIGN POLICY. By Charles Burton Marshall. Holt. $3.

By GEORGE W. JAEGER

TO the long row of books on foreign affairs which have been prompted by the cold war, Charles Burton Marshall has added a slender volume of great wisdom. In *The Limits of Foreign Policy* Mr. Marshall sets forth the essence of his reflections on the nature of foreign policy, derived from his experience in dealing with "that vast external realm" as staff director of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs and member of the Policy Planning staff of the Department of State. The product, urbane, erudite and profound, places him in that select company of classical exponents of the principles of power represented at various times by such men as François de Callières, Edmund Burke, Guglielmo Ferrero and Herbert Butterfield.

The distinction of Mr. Marshall's book lies in the fact that he shifts the level of the argument. For *The Limits of Foreign Policy* is not a book of "answers." Its author has no fool-proof formulas for the management of the cold war. As he told a lady in a midwestern audience, the only surely predictable element of the future was trouble, which was bound to proliferate along our course, although he disclaimed any ability to define all its forms and occasions. On the contrary, his principal concern is to make clear the inherent limits of foreign policy, ". . . so that issues may turn on questions how best for the country to fill these limits rather than on vain propositions of perfection and destructive self-reproach over failure to achieve it."

By stressing the limits of foreign policy, Mr. Marshall implicitly sets the discussion of foreign affairs in the context of that much larger debate concerning the "perfectibility" of human society, of which belief in scientific method and humanitarian idealism have been the principal issues. Mr. Marshall prevails against the common confidence in the efficacy of planning as the key to success. The state, he argues, is only man written large. It does not transcend the limitations of the human condition, with its inherent attributes of fallibility and contingency. In the field of foreign affairs its powers of foresight and efficacy are particularly circumscribed by the very externalness of the events it seeks to affect, the complexity of their historical origins and the unpredictability of circumstances influencing their course.

His warnings against excessive faith in planning are equally directed against the application of other universal solutions to the conduct of foreign affairs. He recalls the advice given to the young Gladstone

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that politics is an unsatisfactory business and that he would have to learn to put up with imperfect results, and links it with the lesson of Faust and Paradise Lost: that grace derives from a sense of one's limitations and that tragedy is the wage of losing that sense.

The author discusses those major circumstances which limit the course of American diplomacy today: our inability to solve our problems either by preventive war or withdrawal, and our consequent dependence on maintaining great coalitions based on consent, with all that implies in terms of accommodation and frustration.

Diplomacy must be content with the pursuit of limited ends, acknowledge the inevitability of difficulties and frustrations, and aim, as Mr. Marshall once put it in a conversation, for a 'condition of liquidity' with the troubles of the day. And the effective conduct of foreign policy, based in a democracy on public consent, consequently rests in large measure on the willingness of officials and citizens to resist the temptations of our traditional "belief in boundlessness" and to assume the self-discipline which will allow us to accept, and make the most of, imperfect situations largely beyond our control. But, as this important book observes, a sense of the contingency of human wisdom and the fallibility of human design in world affairs is not a counsel of despondency and self-defeat; the recognition of the principle of self-limitation is only the beginning of freedom.

Tangled Web

THE MIDNIGHT PATIENT. By Egon Hostovsky. Appleton-Century-Crofts. $3.

By PATRICK F. QUINN

ALTHOUGH Mr. Hostovsky's novel is very much a matter of wheels-within-wheels, it never really gets rolling. From chapter to chapter one keeps hoping that the book will pick up enough speed to develop the impact that it *ought* to have. For the story as such is as ingenious as anything done along the same lines by Gerald Kersch or Eric Ambler, and in addition to having this attraction the book is "about" something important. An excellent plot and a serious issue: these assets are impressive. They should add up. But *The Midnight Patient* is not quite successful either as thriller or as a serious political novel.

So I think. However, in fairness to the author and his potential readers I should add that on the dust jacket of the book may be found four other opinions, all contrary to mine, but as one in setting a very high estimate on what Mr. Hostovsky has done. Lewis Mumford, for instance, says that he found the emotional and intellectual excitement of the story "almost unbearable"; Graham Greene and Malcolm Cowley are almost as emphatic. And for Alfred Kazin: "it reads magnificently. . . ." Simply on principle I should like to go along with all this praise, but I boggle and back away.

It does not read magnificently. It reads, rather, as if translated from some foreign language (as in fact it was), and in the process something got lost. Perhaps the task of turning Czech into English is one of the more difficult exercises of the translator's art. The prose of this book makes me think so. True, all the sentences are "correct," flawless in syntax, unassailable in diction. Yet the effect is consistently wooden, the style featureless and dull. Hence the pace of the story is slowed down to a lethargic crawl, though the plot is one that calls for energy and acceleration.

But the author, too, must carry some of the blame for the disappointing way the book turns out. Its basic situation is brilliantly devised: Dr. Arnost Malik, a New York psychiatrist with a good many neuroses of his own, is induced by an American intelligence agent to take on the case of Alfons, an invaluable spy and provocateur sidelined for the moment by insomnia and other symptoms. This man becomes the doctor's midnight patient. His daytime practice is mostly made up of American and Soviet spies and counterspies employed in mutual surveillance and in discovering

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which side Alfons is actually to work for when his cure is completed. Once Dr. Malik learns how tangled is the web he has been lured into he tries to get out, and to convince his clients that they are all victims rather than agents of the espionage they are engaged in.

Thus isolated, the main line of the story looks promising. However, we are too often led away from it by detours that trail off into nowhere. There is much extraneous material in the book, scenes and flashbacks intended to define the personality of Dr. Malik but which, instead, only add some superfluous characters to the plot and diminish its dramatic force.

If the narration were more economical, *The Midnight Patient* would be a better mystery story. It would be a better novel of ideas if the author had placed his hero in a moral dilemma that might be resolved by choice rather than accident. The central question of the book seems to be this: What role can a man of good will play if, by chance, he finds himself caught in the dogma-eat-dogma fight of modern power politics? Mr. Hostovsky has some intelligent things to say about this fight and about the psychology of those who are professionally engaged in it at the cloak and dagger level. But the central question is answered vaguely or not at all. At best, Dr. Malik is only a catalyst, speeding an explosive reaction but understanding almost none of its complexities. This would be intelligible if Mr. Hostovsky were not so clearly trying to make a case for the values of courage, integrity, and trust in a world myopic with fear and obsessed with means rather than ends. Yet what the novel reveals, if anything, is how inefficacious the author's values are.

Chicago Chase

THE MAN IN THE MIDDLE. By David Wagoner. Harcourt, Brace. $3.50.

By JOHN A. LYNCH

THIS is a first novel, a novel of a chase, and the author has to his credit that he is not pretentious, not arty, he does not mix his metaphors and he does know how to tell a story. But it is necessary to say, too, that midway in the novel the author seems to have misplaced his story and we are then taken into the workings of a sub-plot ("corruption in high places," according to the jacket), are led into a number of forays that tend to obscure rather than strengthen, and when we are, at the end of the novel, presented with the "man in the middle" ready to throw himself from a moving train, we are not willing to accept the situation, for the motivation has by this time been fairly well attenuated.

Charlie Bell is a cripple, a railroad crossing watchman on the main line that runs through a deliberately unnamed city west of Gary, Indiana and east of Chicago, Illinois (what is left but East Chicago?), where the chief of police can "barely talk English" and the "cops," as one thug says, can be bought for "a quarter apiece."

On a summer night a week before a Presidential nominating convention in Chicago, a girl political reporter is somersaulted from the 7:36 almost at Charlie's feet. With her comes a briefcase that spills along the tracks and into the weeds. Retrieving what they can of the briefcase's contents, Charlie and the girl are followed by the man who pushed her out. The girl is killed, the briefcase recovered (she had taken it from the killer), Charlie slugged and dumped into a box of lobsters behind a restaurant. Charlie gets out, returns to the tracks and finds a phonograph record and three photostats of checks that they had missed earlier. He is spotted by the killer and an illiterate chum who has joined him. They chase Charlie through a lot of backyards and weed patches and finally to his room over a garage. Charlie escapes by going out a window, but next day he reads in the paper that he is wanted by the police for questioning in the girl's murder; her body has been planted in his room by the hoodlums.

The briefcase, it turns out, is full of material with which a Senator

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from an eastern state, who employs the gunmen, is hoping to blackmail the editor of the Chicago *Independent* into backing him for the Presidential nomination. For another sixty pages Charlie is dogged by his conscience, his own weak brain that can't quite figure out the scheme of things, his weak legs which can hardly run when he needs them most, and by the very physical presence of the murderer.

The chase is excellent. Chicago smells. It glitters and bristles and rattles. Charlie rides the elevated, hides in a theater, flees out a restroom window and finally, trapped in Union Station, slides feet first into a twenty-five cent luggage locker and pulls the door nearly to behind him. At this point we might expect Alfred Hitchcock to be near.

But no, it is Senator Taggart, crawling out of his bed, bruised with a hangover, and from here the story goes quickly downhill. Taggart is not Huey Long and he is not very corrupt, only incompetent. As long as he remained in the background, paying the murderer, he was plausible, but when we meet him and see him in action he is slightly ridiculous.

The story is Charlie's, but the author, in trying to peg it a level above that of the chase, in striving to involve the corruption theme, sacrifices Charlie, and when the Senator-corruption angle doesn't come off, the story disintegrates. As long as the novel was maintained on the Charlie-killer axis it was tight and clean and paced. It could even support the sub-plot as long as it was kept in the background. But Charlie doesn't know Senator Taggart and is not haunted by him, and only what haunts and pursues Charlie is essential. It is not a well-fashioned book otherwise. Otherwise, on the last page, why leap?

REVIEWERS

George W. Jaeger is with the Department of State. He expects to join the Harvard faculty in the near future.

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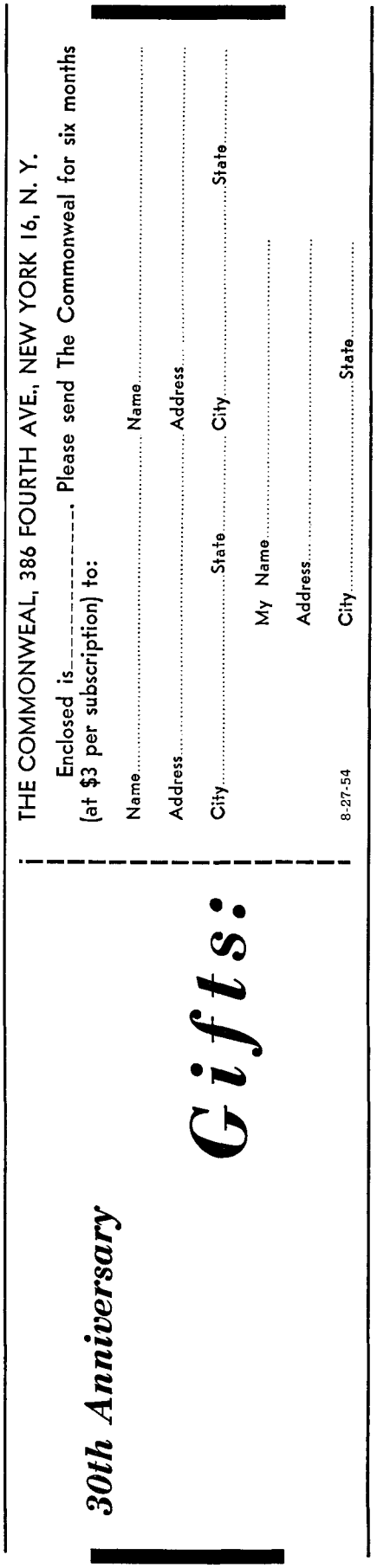

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THE BOOKS ON THIS PAGE

have one thing in common: they each deserve a bouquet for keeping right on selling through the summer, undeterred by heat or humidity, and if that isn't proof of solid worth, we don't know what is.

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The apologia of one of the few first-rate novelists writing in English who does not wish us to weep with her. Quite the contrary. $2.50

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